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QUESTIONNAIRE

30 June 57

A. Political Potential:

1. Give a realistic review of the political potential of the ZP/UHVR including the following points:

PROLOG Introductory Statement:

We wish to make it clear at the very outset of our answer that ZP/UHVR never did and does not intend to conduct any major activities designed to gain a hold upon emigres for the simple reason that ZP/UHVR never had as one of its purposes creation of phantom emigre parties or, to put it another way national group ghettos for the purpose of nurturing ambitions and collection of puny funds. ZP/UHVR is not a party and does not plan to become one.

The purposes of ZP/UHVR which are being realized and which are intended to be realized are:

A. Establishment of direct and indirect contact with the people in the Ukrainian SSR and with peoples in the USSR by means of informing them of actual political ideas in the West, of emigre activities, etc., i.e., carrying out strictly practical tasks and indicating practical opportunities for continuing the struggle for freedom and independence. In this connection, it is not the intention of ZP/UHVR to impose upon the people a ready-made program of national structure, this problem to be solved by the people themselves. In its platform of struggle for freedom, ZP/UHVR stands for a strictly democratic program.

B. Among emigres, ZP/UHVR does not appeal to any groups, but to all emigres, and recruits for its work, as far as possible, all individuals of good will regardless of their origin or group adherence. ZP/UHVR tries to acquaint emigres with presently existing conditions in the Ukrainian SSR and USSR and to tie emigres with the nation's present problems, and not merely with its past.

C. Establishment of mutual relations on an individual basis among representatives or worthwhile individuals of emigres of other enslaved nations for common action on a basis of equality, for the purpose of spreading the idea of a national front of peoples in contravention to the colonial system and centralism of modern Moscow. We believe that natural and healthy ideas of nationalism of each nation constitute the most powerful and realistic opposition to the ideas of Communism and Bolshevik centralism.

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In order to preach these ideas among other nations enslaved by Communist Moscow and among colonial nations, we have prepared for printing an English-language periodical "Prologue" (see enclosure # 1).

For this purpose ZP/UHVR has established in the main centers of the free world, posts manned by people who are politically mature, honest and are willing to work, who aid us in realizing the tasks enumerated above. It is within our plans to develop and widen these posts into a network covering the entire free world.

Question:a) Present political views in relation to the emigration and the ZP/UHVR political aims for a future Ukrainian state.

Answer: As ZP/UHVR understands it, the main task confronting Ukrainian emigres is to help the Ukrainian liberation struggle within all possible means, i.e., morally, politically and materially, and to try and enlist such help from the free world.

The value and activity of individual parts of Ukrainian emigre groups is predicated upon different elements such as: country of residence, social composition, time of leaving the homeland, etc. A majority of Ukrainian emigres in all countries of residence have been living beyond the borders of Ukraine for over 13 years, if we consider only the post-World War II emigres. All emigres, and this includes immigrants, have for the most part become integrated not merely legally and formally, but also actually and spiritually, into their lands of adoption. Their love of Ukraine and of the Ukrainian people is chiefly a manifestation of a patriotism of blood ties and sentiment, and is not of a political nature. Ukrainian emigres are as a whole very generous and are always ready to take part in mass demonstrations and appearances. They are prone to react immediately to important current events in Ukraine and in the USSR, but at the same time they frequently have an idea that Ukraine is the same as at the time of their departure at different periods, or else they carry a composite picture reconstructed on the basis of general news and individual correspondence with their kin.

Moments which have special appeal to feelings are capable of mobilizing emigres for activities on a wider scale and political action in defense of Ukraine's right to independence and in aid of the Ukrainian people in the USSR. Evidence of this is provided in the favorable attitude of all emigres and their party groups to the letters received from Ukrainian political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps. Ukrainian emigres were also very moved by events in Poland and Hungary last year.

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Worthy of mention is the fact that Ukrainian emigres are presently engaged on a wide scale in extending material aid to their brethren in Ukraine in the shape of parcels with clothing, medicine, etc.

Only narrow circles of Ukrainian emigres, however, are actively engaged in the Ukrainian liberation struggle beyond Ukrainian borders. Some of them are active in different parties which frequently fight each other obstinately. Others, standing aloof from parties, try to serve the Ukrainian liberation cause as best as they can in different form. ZP/UHVR appeals to this part of the community most and gets the best response from it. In addition, ZP/UHVR tries to engage different political factors from among Ukrainian emigres in its general-national activities.

As mentioned in the introductory remarks, ZP/UHVR is not a party or similar organization and has no intention of building up ranks which would strengthen its position among emigres. Neither does ZP/UHVR pretend to assume the position of an emigre government. Its purpose is to strive for emigres to maintain a spiritual unity and contact with Ukraine and with the processes of the people's struggle for independence and to aid them in that struggle. ZP/UHVR also has as one of its purposes to give direction to Ukrainian emigre policy along the lines of real and actual needs of the people and to prepare the best individuals from among emigres to participate under appropriate circumstances in the direct struggle for independence. In this connection ZP/UHVR explains in its newspapers and lectures, as well as in radio addresses over commercial networks (e.g. Philadelphia) to clarify the present status and struggle of the Ukrainian people. From this position, ZP/UHVR has an opportunity to initiate or influence activities of a general nature among Ukrainian emigres on the one hand, and on the other hand it is free from needless expenditure of energy in group fights and domestic controversies among emigres.

With such an understanding of the purposes of emigres, ZP/UHVR SIMU simultaneously provides the Ukrainian people with objective information about worthwhile activities of emigres. (See enclosures ## 2 and 3, clippings from the Information Bulletin mailed to Ukraine).

In a similar manner ZP/UHVR tries to establish live contacts with representatives and groups of other nations enslaved by Moscow and with those liberated from Western colonial rule, for the purpose of finding common menas and realizing common undertakings in defense of the rights of enslaved nations and to create a firm basis for friendship and cooperation in the future on the foundation of equality among free nations.

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ZP/UHVR also pays close attention to establish positive contacts with representatives of nations - neighbors of Ukraine. In this connection a whole series of conferences and meetings have been held with Poles, Czechs, Hungarians and others. In the Ukrainian-Jewish sector we have succeeded in establishing live contacts with Jewish ~~readers~~ and observers of the Israeli Government in Germany. Several meetings and lectures were held. "Suchasna Ukraina" publishes articles by authors of Polish, Jewish and other nationalities, and conversely, editors of "SU" have their articles published in the Polish press ("Kutura," "Wiadomosci"). Separate sub-sections have been created for these contacts.

The position of ZP/UHVR in the matter of an independent Ukrainian state are embodied and realized in the UHVR Platform which was adopted in Ukraine in 1944. Its basic points are the following:

- A. An independent Ukrainian state with an unadulterated democratic order established upon decisions of a freely elected Ukrainian Parliament;
- B. Full guarantee of all political rights: of the individual and of social groups, on the principle of equality of all citizens under the law;
- C. Freedom of speech, thought, religion, assembly and political parties;
- D. Separation of legislative power from the executive and complete independence of the judiciary. Liquidation of the MVD, KGB and concentration camps;
- E. A Ukrainian armed force for defense of the country;
- F. A just social order, free from any kind of exploitation, based on free labor unions, free organization of peasants, the working intelligentsia and cultural workers;
- G. Establishment of an economic order on the following basis:
 - 1. Land to be transferred to peasant tenure with full freedom of land use;
 - 2. Guarantee of labor's right of free contract of labor and the right to strike, participation by labor in management;

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3. State property in mineral wealth and heavy industry and transfer of medium industry to management by local administration and cooperatives;

4. Free enterprise in small industry and commerce within bounds prescribed by law. (See enclosure # 4, clipping from the Information Bulletin - the text is published in all issues of the Bulletin beginning with issue No. 2).

ZP/UHVR considers as one of its main purposes of activity on the sector of relations with neighbors establishment of good-neighbor relations between the eventually independent Ukrainian state and Russia. ZP/UHVR rejects the theory of collective liability of the entire Russian nation for the crimes of the Russian-Bolshevik clique in Moscow and believes that in Ukrainian-Russian relations a similar relaxation is a necessity as the presently existing relations between France and Germany. ZP/UHVR further believes that a free Ukrainian state will not only become a valuable economic and political partner of the Eastern European community of nations, but that it will also exert a beneficial influence upon processes of integrating Eastern Europe and that it will always make mutual concessions in the matter of union or confederation of nations of Central-Eastern Europe. (See enclosure #5, clipping from Information Bulletin No., 5).

Question:b) Realistic estimate (in numbers) of the actual political support of the ZP/UHVR among the emigration.

Answer: In order to avail itself of the means of conducting activities described above, ZP/UHVR has established its posts in countries of residence of Ukrainian emigres along the line of quality and not quantity of selected membership. I.E., persons have been selected individually, according to their political maturity, standing among emigres in the given country, honesty and initiative, and in a majority of cases past participation in underground warfare in Ukraine. Such posts have been established and are presently active in the following countries: USA (with branches in several States and cities of large concentration of Ukrainian emigres); Canada (similar basis as in the USA); Brazil, Argentina, Australia (branches), Germany, France, Great Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain. In other countries, like Norway and Italy, there are liaison men or persons of trust for the time being.

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In the USA, in addition to posts and delegations, there is the Association of Free Ukraine, established on the initiative of ZP/UHVR whose purpose is to unite friends of the liberation struggle on the basis of moral aid. The Association is a chartered organization with branches in 7 cities of large Ukrainian emigre concentration (New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Hartford, Detroit, Chicago, Buffalo). In Canada, along similar lines, there is the Ukrainian Canadian Society of Friends of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle, and in Germany "Ukrainian Society of Foreign Studies" which unite Ukrainian emigres regardless of group allegiance and are mainly concerned with cooperation with other national:

In addition, both in the USA and Canada, there are organized posts of former UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) soldiers.

The purpose of these associations is direct influence upon wider masses of emigres by means of periodic lectures, participation in community and political activities, invitation to lectures of representatives of various Ukrainian groups and representatives of other nationalities.

A means of wider influence upon emigres by ZP/UHVR is the newspaper "Suchasna Ukraina" with its social-economic supplement and "Literary Gazette" and separate book publications, such as "Literary Collection." Individuals of different political views and groups are among contributors to these newspapers.

An indication of real moral support given to ZP/UHVR by the Ukrainian emigre community is the action undertaken last year in the matter of letters received from Ukrainian political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps. Literally all Ukrainian emigres in the whole world took part in this action with the exception of an insignificant group of Ukrainian socialists.

Regarding numbers of rank members of ZP/UHVR, they can be summarized as follows:

- A. Active workers of ZP/UHVR in charge of local posts - 60;
- B. Active sympathizers, about 500;
- C. Adherents, newspaper readers and permanent participants in meetings and lectures, about 3,000.

Question:c) Estimate of political support of the ZP/UHVR from other Ukrainian emigre political groups.

Answer: ZP/UHVR cannot count on mass support of emigre groups for reasons stated above (1.a/) as well as for the reason that practical undertakings

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of ZP/UHVR (e.g. radio broadcasts, "Information Bulletin" book distribution project etc.) are kept secret.

Regarding support of ZP/UHVR on the part of other emigre groups, such support comes actually and permanently from OUN₂ and from former UPA soldiers, as well as from citizens without party affiliation. On current problems ZP/UHVR maintains close relations and cooperates with other Ukrainian groups and organizations.

Question:d) Background information on the genesis of the UHVR and its support among the population of the Ukrainian SSR from 1945 to 1957.

Answer: UHVR came into being in 1944 on the initiative of the OUN leadership and UPA High Command. The basic reasons for the establishment of UHVR were:

A. As a result of deployment of OUN activities and of UPA action and actual occupation by the underground of entire districts and provinces of Ukraine with administration, education and economy (Volyn in 1943) the whole population joined in the struggle in the area of action and OUN leadership came to realize that command of the whole struggle should be turned over to a general-Ukrainian body;

B. The UPA which was established on the initiative of OUN, grew to such an extent that it required to be separated into a complete unit, and being a strictly military organization it was necessary to establish a civilian authority over it of a general national nature;

C. Widening of the struggle to two fronts: against German Nazism and Bolshevik Moscow, and attempts of the underground to abolish secondary fronts brought about establishment of direct contacts first with the Poles and a delegate of the Polish Government in London, and subsequently with the Government of Hungary and Romania. Negotiations concerning cooperation and mutual aid were conducted on a basis of relations between nations and added to the need of establishing a general Ukrainian representation;

D. For the purpose of making contact between the Ukrainian underground and the Allies, the Department of foreign contacts of OUN and UPA sent five liaison men in the winter of 1943/44 to Italy. They were to get in touch with the Allied Command in Italy. This liaison group made contact with Italian Partisans in Northern Italy and in turn a similar group was sent the same way to Switzerland to make contact with Embassies

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of the Allies in Switzerland. In this instance it was necessary to furnish such a mission with powers to act in behalf of a Ukrainian political representation and Command of the liberation struggle.

By decision of the OUN leadership and UPA High Command, an Initiative Committee was created in the winter of 1943 whose task was to form a supervisory body which would direct the liberation struggle. The Initiative Committee held a series of talks with Ukrainian political leaders and representatives of former political groups in Ukraine, Poland and Czechoslovakia and finally laid the groundwork to call the I Grand Convention which was held in the Carpathian Mountains under cover of armed units of UPA between July 11 and 14, 1944. There were 21 representatives of various parts of Ukraine taking part in the I Grand Convention, of different political convictions, who were united in the common objective and participation in the struggle. During the deliberations of the I Grand Convention the name UHVR was adopted, the UHVR platform was voted upon individually and point by point, and a Universal Proclamation and Oath for UPA soldiers was adopted. In conclusion of the Convention, governing bodies of UHVR were elected, consisting of UHVR President and 3 Vice-Presidents, Chairman of the Secretariat-General in the person of the late Gen. Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, a Comptroller-General and Judge. Members of UHVR also carried a joint resolution that for the purpose furnishing moral support to the underground and the people, the UHVR would stay with its people in Ukraine and assume leadership of the continued Ukrainian liberation struggle under new conditions of Bolshevik occupation.

The Executive body of UHVR headed by the President and Chairman of the Secretariat-General sent a mission abroad headed by the Secretary-General of Foreign Affairs for the purpose of establishing contacts with the Allies and seeking aid. This mission formed itself into ZP/UHVR in 1945.

The following facts provide evidence that the people in Ukraine accepted the program and stand of UHVR as a feasible program of liberation:

A. General, continuous and voluntary aid furnished by the people to members of the underground, without which several score thousand members of the underground could not have survived and engaged in armed and political struggle alongside the people. This aid consisted not only in feeding members of the underground and hiding them in large bunkers, but also in gathering and providing information on the movements of the enemy at the risk of life, providing liaison aid, and active participation in fighting the enemy, as for example:

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1. At the behest of UHVR, boycott of elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in 1946, to the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine in 1947. Not more than 30% of the population, mostly under direct armed threat of the NKVD, went to the polls on the territories of underground activities.

2. Action of aiding victims of famine in 1947, As a result of a crop failure in 1946 in Eastern Ukraine, hundreds of thousands of hungry collective farm workers from Eastern provinces of Ukraine and even from the Volga came on foot to Western Ukraine, at that time not as yet collectivized, looking for bread. The UHVR made an appeal to the people to help the hungry and to disseminate among them information about our struggle and aims. The people of Western Ukraine responded to the appeal as one, and hundreds of thousands tons of grain were made available to the hungry of Eastern Ukraine.

3. Action against forced liquidation of the Greek-Catholic Church (Ukrainian-Catholic) in 1946. The UHVR along with OUN and UPA called upon the people to resist and to establish an underground church. To this very day the Soviet press publishes reports about the existence of an underground church, and the fact is confirmed by private correspondence between family members.

4. Action to resist collectivization. Moscow succeeded in collectivizing Western Ukraine only in 1950/51 by means of terror, oppression and subterfuge, and only formally at that, because the collective farm system and work in it is still opposed by the people. There is evidence of resistance against the collective farm system in Soviet documents, articles and motion pictures. (E.g. the technicolor film "On the Cheremosh" in concerned with this problem exclusively). The well-known Soviet critic from Kiev, Poltoratsky, in his review of this picture in the magazine "Teatr" (No. 4, 1954) said that the struggle between the government and the people presented in the picture "continues to some extent to this day."

5. Action to help the people spread the ideas of the Ukrainian liberation movement not only throughout the Ukrainian SSR, but also to other parts of the USSR. The Ukrainian underground has published a whole series of pamphlets, leaflets and appeals about continuing and

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widening the struggle. They were distributed mainly by railroad workers, postal employees, school teachers travelling on vacations etc. This activity is mentioned, among others, in "Radyanska Ukraina" (Dec. 8, 1951) by Candidate of Science Ryaboklyach who calls it "ideological diversion" of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. A similar action is going on in the Soviet press this year against bourgeois nationalists who are hiding under the disguise of "national communism." The people took an active part in this and other activities and did not break under terror, torture, provocation, robbery, open murder, deportation under armed force of NKVD-MVD-KGB. Evidence of a favorable attitude of the people is provided by the help they give to present-day returnees from concentration camps and prisons who had been condemned for participation or sympathy to the underground movement.

Evidence of a favorable attitude of the people toward the program and purposes of UHVR is also provided in the "Appeal of Fighting Ukraine to Ukrainian Emigres" of 1949 which is signed in the name of the people by members of UHVR and the underground, representatives of the underground church and of the world of science.

Similar testimony was given by all liaison men from Ukraine as well as by foreigners who returned from Soviet concentration camps in 1955/56. The Soviet press and the Government of the Ukrainian SSR confirm this state of affairs. Representing the Ukrainian SSR in the UN, Leonid E. Kyzia said in his address to the UN on February 26, 1957 in connection of an alleged "diversion of the US against the USSR" the following: "As early as 1946, the leaders of the so-called UHVR which came into existence during the German occupation, came to West Germany and offered their services to the American occupation authorities."

Final evidence is provided in a series of private letters, as well as letters in reply to the "Information Bulletin" which mention UHVR and the struggle for independent Ukraine. An example: in a letter received recently from Khmelnytsky province, the writer says: "This letter (i.e. the Information Bulletin) caused me to react favorably and I am happy that I could get acquainted with its contents" and continues: "some problems mentioned in this letter are familiar to me, I have often heard them over the radio as well as from other sources."

If we make a general summary, there can be no doubt that a majority of the Ukrainian people desire liberation from Moscow's rule and their own selection of the form and kind of government they wish to have.

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Question:e) Summary of the actual contacts of the internal UHVR and the ZP/UHVR during the period from 1945 to 1957.

Answer: ZP/UHVR maintained active and direct contact with UHVR and with the Ukrainian underground from the second half of 1944. This contact was established through liaison on both sides and until 1947 the contact was maintained in common with Z.Ch.-OUN (established abroad in 1945 under the leadership of Stepan Bandera). In 1946/47 this contact was infiltrated by NKVD men (Demyd-Chyzhevsky, Yaroslav Moroz) and ZP/UHVR reestablished contact independently of Z.Ch.-OUN in 1948 through two couriers (Ivan and Mykola) dispatched directly by Gen. T. Chuprynka. Both liaison men were sent back to Ukraine in 1949. Unfortunately they were unable to complete their mission in full for reasons of technical defects in the apparatus and damage on landing. In turn, four new contact men came from Ukraine in 1949 and two more fell while fighting in Czechoslovakia. They brought direct material from UHVR and from Gen. Chuprynka's deputy, Col. Vasyl Koval of UPA and OUN. In 1950 UHVR sent 4 liaison men to Ukraine, two of whom had come from Ukraine the year before. This mission did not complete its task either, for the same reasons as its predecessor. Late in 1950 one of the couriers returned accompanied by two more members of the underground. They brought dispatches and announcement of the death of Gen. Chuprynka-Shukhevych. Documents and mail were handed to them by UHVR members and by Col. V. Koval who succeeded Gen. Chuprynka, and by Major P. Poltava, Chief of the UHVR Information Bureau.

In 1951 ZP/UHVR member Vasyl Okhrymovych left for Ukraine together with 3 aides and successfully established contact between ZP and UHVR and joined in executive work in UHVR in Ukraine. In 1952 two more men were sent by ZP, of whom one went to join the Central Executive and the other the Provincial. Late in 1953 news came from V. Okhrymovych that the first man had been killed and the second had reported loss of apparatus when surprised by the MVD. He maintained contact through 1954 and early 1955, but there was no opportunity to give him technical aid. (There was an attempt to parachute aid in 1953, but it was a miss).

In 1953, over the signature of member of the Presidium of UHVR, M.I. Lisovy and Chairman of the Secretariat-General UHVR Col. V. Koval, the following letter of authority was delivered to ZP:

"To Secretary-General of Foreign Affairs of UHVR, Mykola Lebed. We hereby affirm your mandate and of the entire Foreign Representation of UHVR to represent the UHVR abroad on behalf of the homeland and the entire Ukrainian liberation movement at home."

Follow 4 points of purposes of ZP and confirmation that "Attached to ZP/UHVR in behalf of UPA, there is active a Mission of UPA."

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It should be noted that all liaison men carried out their missions honestly and not a single one defected to the enemy. A majority of them fell in direct combat.

Since 1954 ZP/UHVR lost direct contact with UHVR and with the underground. Whereas until that time ZP was mainly concerned with carrying out directives and requests of UHVR in the matter of aid and contact, since 1955 ZP/UHVR has taken upon itself that part of activity which had theretofore been within the province of UHVR and the underground in Ukraine, and has begun carrying out the duties of aiding the liberation struggle of the entire nation and underground.

Thus, in 1955 members of Prolog, acting within the program of ZP/UHVR, prepared 4 leaflets of which 3 were to be dropped over Ukraine by technical means. (Further leaflets which were made ready could not be sent for reasons unknown to us). Since the fall of 1955 work was finally begun on radio broadcasts "New Ukraine", until this time 84 broadcasts have been prepared and delivered by members of Prolog. Since 1956 about 400 copies of "Suchasna Ukraina" and of the Literary Gazette are sent uninterruptedly to addresses in Ukraine. Since January 1957 the "Information Bulletin" has been started and to this day 5 issues have been mailed totalling 24039 copies.

Since 1956 and at the present time attempts are being made to establish contact with members of the underground by direct correspondence. This refers to those who have been released from prisons and concentration camps and to their families. Thus far 12 packages have been sent to individual addresses with clothing and medicines.

Separate mention should be made of receipt of two letters from Ukrainian political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps of 1955/56 which provide basic evidence of the fact that Ukrainian prisoners have not only not broken down, but on the contrary, initiated and effected a whole series of strikes within concentration camps along with prisoners of other nationalities.

Question:f) Realistic estimate of the reaction of the Ukrainian SSR population to the political views of the ZP/UHVR as contrasted with their reaction to the political views of UNRada, OUN/Bandera, Hetmanites, and Zch/OUN. (Quote any substantiating data from personal letters, broadcasts, or reports from recent defectors).

Answer: Regarding a realistic estimate of the reaction of the people in the Ukrainian SSR to the political views and program of UHVR as a whole and contrasted with other Ukrainian groups, like UNR, Hetmanites,

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an estimate of such relation is impossible, because neither UNRada nor Hetmanites engaged in any action in Ukraine not only since 1945, but even for a much longer period back. From among groups comprising UNRada now or earlier, only OUN/M engaged in certain activities until 1945 and to some unknown extent subsequently. According to our information, OUN/M attempted to contact its members and sympathizers who stayed in Ukraine after 1945 and whose orders had been to refrain from any activity, but to wait for an appropriate moment. This contact was, however, in all probability penetrated by MGB-KGB at an early date and part of those political prisoners in concentration camps who were followers of OUN/M went over to common action with prisoners who were members of OUN, UPA and UHVR.

Concerning Z.Ch.-OUN under S. Bandera, this group did not undertake any separate activity as long as the underground was active because they took advantage of the fact that Moscow dubbed the entire Ukrainian liberation movement "Banderists". The stand and program of OUN in Ukraine were contradictory to those of ZCh-OUN and Bandera's, and only after the leadership of OUN in Ukraine had noted Bandera's departure from the basic tenets and issued orders that ZCh-OUN undergo a democratization, S. Bandera ignored the decision of the homeland and began acting on his own. The only contact man sent by Bandera to Ukraine, Myron (Matviyenko) was intercepted by the infiltration of MVD.

OUN₂ was established in February 1954 following receipt of documents from the OUN leadership in Ukraine which stated that ZCh.-OUN. (under S. Bandera) should reorganize. Three representatives of OUN were appointed in the persons of Lev Rebet, Zenon Matla and S. Bandera who were to reorganize ZCh-OUN in the spirit of the position and program of OUN of 1943, and in particular they were charged with the task of democratizing the organization.

S. Bandera refused to make the changes and refused to join the appointed body of three and for this reason ZCh.-OUN broke up into two parts, of which one remained under S. Bandera, and the other, as OUN₂ chose a new area of activity with a new leadership.

2. Trace the political development of OUN₂ from its origin to its present form, including the following points:

Question:a) Present political views of OUN₂ in relation to the Ukrainian emigration, and its political aims for a future Ukrainian state.

Answer: The relation of OUN₂ to emigres as a whole is determined by the by-laws and resolutions of this organization and in a series of articles and acts. OUN₂ takes the position of uniting all emigres

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in aid of the Ukrainian people in their liberation fight and of keeping the fundamental position of liberation by all emigres. Along with this, OUN_z is the initiator of uniting all factions of OUN abroad into a single national front and establishment of normal relations with other groups.

Question:b) Realistic estimate (in numbers) of the actual political support of the OUN_z among the emigration.

Answer: OUN_z has built up an organization throughout all countries of Ukrainian emigre settlement. We have no exact figures available, but in approximation, OUN_z can have about 500 members and 1500 sympathizers.

Question:c) The political relationship between ZP/UHVR and OUN_z.

Answer: OUN_z fully recognized the position of OUN in Ukraine in relation to ZP/UHVR, i.e. it recognized ZP as the representation of UHVR abroad, and the UHVR as the political leadership and headquarters of the liberation struggle. OUN_z consistently supports this position and helps ZP/UHVR in its activities.

Question:d) Summary of the actual contacts of the internal OUN and the OUN_z during the period from 1945 to 1957.

Answer: Alongside UPA, OUN in Ukraine was the sole political force in the fight for liberation. It originated in the people and has their full support. Its activities during WW II spread to all Ukrainian territories organizationally and since 1945 it was practically effective throughout Ukraine, although its fundamental basis was located in Western Ukraine (Galicia, Volhynia, the Carpathians). The influence of OUN upon the the people was very considerable and there were periods when OUN had behind it 90% of the people in the area of its activities. The program of OUN was widely distributed in Ukraine. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets and pamphlets were distributed which went all over Ukraine. Even to this day, Moscow in its attacks upon the OUN in the press, does not dare publish quotations from the program of OUN and merely resorts to curses and charges of American agents and bourgeois nationalists, in spite of the fact that the OUN program is thoroughly democratic and not in any degree capitalist as far as social matters are concerned.

Since 1945, ZCh.-OUN and ZP/UHVR have been maintaining contacts with OUN in Ukraine. The split came only in 1947 and since that time ZCh.-OUN under S. Bandera has been making attempts to maintain separate contacts. Since late in 1953, the division of liaison of Zch-OUN recognized the position of OUN in Ukraine and submitted to

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the authority of ZP and transferred its contacts. Since that time, the whole area of direct contacts is within the province of ZP/UHVR.

Due to a lack of concrete orders, members who had been appointed to liaison work, have been released from duties.

Since 1956, OUN_Z has been sending its newspaper "Ukrainsky Samostiynyk" to addresses in the Ukrainian SSR and quotations from it have been published in the Soviet press on several occasions, particularly in connection with the Bysaha affair.

Question:e) Realistic estimate of the reactions of the population of the Ukrainian SSR to the political views of the OUN, as contrasted to their reactions to the political views of UNRada, OUN/Bandera, Hetmanites, and ZP/UHVR.

Answer: There is no doubt that the Ukrainian people assumed a favorable attitude toward the program of OUN with which it is acquainted, just as in the case of UHVR. At the same time there is no evidence or other proof available to indicate that the Ukrainian people know anything about UNRada or the Hetmanites, simply because UNRada came into existence abroad and had practically no contact with the Ukrainian people. The only news about UNRada to reach Ukraine could have come through the Voice of America and Radio Liberation. But as far as we are informed, such news was very brief and nebulous. Regarding the Hetmanites, this movement did not engage in any activities in Ukraine and it is nigh to impossible to speak of any relation between this movement and the people.

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